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[COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XXIII.]

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RELATING TO THE

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1609-15.

VIZ:

Champlain's Expeditions to Northern and Western New York.

(*1632*).

A Letter from a Gentleman of the City of New York

CONCERNING THE LATE REVOLUTION.

(*1698*).

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TWO RARE TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Champlain's Expedition

INTO NORTHERN NEW YORK;

ANNO 1609.

[*From Champlains Hist. de la Nouvelle France*]

Departure from the Sault of the Iroquois River; Description of a Great Lake; Rencountre with the enemies on said Lake and the mode and conduct observed in going to attack the Iroquois.

I left the Rapid * of the said River of the Iroquois on the 2nd of July. (1609.) All the Savages began carrying their canoes, arms and traps over land about a league and a half, to avoid the current and force of the Rapid. This was quickly effected.

* Now, Chambly, Lower Canada.

They immediately launched the canoes into the water, two men in each with their bagage, whilst one of the men went by land about a league and a half, which was the probable extent of said Rapid, tho' not so violent as at the foot, except at some points where rocks obstructed the River, which is no more than three to four hundred paces wide. After the Rapid was passed, though not without trouble, all the Indians who had gone by land over a pretty good road and level country, though covered with timber, re-embarked in their canoes. My men were also on land and I on the water in a canoe. They reviewed all their force and found 24 canoes with 60 men. After having completed their review, we continued our journey as far as an Island three leagues long, covered with the finest pines I ever beheld. They hunted and caught some wild animals there. Passing thence about three leagues further on, we camped in order to rest for the night.

Forthwith some began to cut down timber; others to pull off bark to cover lodges to shelter them; others to fell large trees with which to barricade their lodges on the shore. They know so well how to construct those barricades, that five hundred of their enemies would find considerable difficulty in forcing them in less than two hours, without great loss. They do not fortify the side of the river along which their canoes are ranged, so as to be able to embark should occasion require.

After they had camped, they despatched three canoes with nine good men, as is their custom at all their encampments, to reconnoitre within two or three leagues, if they see anything. After which they retire. They depend the whole night on the exploration of the van guard, which is a bad habit of theirs. For sometimes their enemies surprize them asleep, and kill them without having an opportunity of recovering their feet to defend themselves.

Remarking that, I remonstrated with them against the error they committed ; told them to watch, as they saw us do, all night, and to have out-posts to spy and see if they could perceive anything ; and not to live in that style, like cattle. They they told me they couldn't watch, and that they laboured all day hunting. So that, when they go to war they divide their force into three—to wit—one party, scattered in divers places, hunting ; another forms the main body, which is always under arms ; and another party as a van guard, to scout along the river and see whether they will not discover some trail or mark indicating the passage of friends or enemies. This they ascertain by certain marks the chiefs of one nation give to those of another, which are not always alike ; notifying each other from time to time when they alter any. By this means they recognize whether those who have passed are friends or enemies. They thus continue until they are two or three days journey from the foe, when they advance stealthily by night, all in a body, except

the scouts, and retire by day into the picket fort where they repose, without wandering abroad, making any noise or building a fire, even for cooking during that time, so as not to be discovered, should their enemies happen to pass. The only fire they make is, to smoke. They eat dried Indian meal which they steep in water like porridge. They prepare this meal for use when they are pinched, and when they are near the enemy, or when retreating; after their attacks they do not amuse themselves hunting, retreating precipitately.

* * * * * *

We left next day, continuing our route along the river as far as the mouth of the Lake.* Here are a number of beautiful, but low Islands filled with very fine woods and prairies, a quantity of game and wild animals, such as stags, deer, fawns, roebucks, bears and other sorts of animals that come from the main land to the said islands. We caught a quantity of them. There is also quite a number of Beavers, as well in the river as in several other streams which fall into it. These parts, though agreeable, are not inhabited by any Indians, in consequence of their wars. They retire from the rivers as far as possible, deep into the country, in order not to be so soon discovered.

Next day we entered the Lake, which is of considerable extent; some 50 or 60 leagues, where I saw 4

* Lake Champlain.

beautiful islands 10. 12. and 15. leagues in length, formerly inhabited, as well as the Iroquois river, by Indians, but abandoned since they have been at war the one with the other. Several rivers, also, discharge into the lake, surrounded by a number of fine trees similar to those we have in France, with a quantity of vines handsomer than any other I ever saw; a great many chesnuts, and I had not yet seen except the margin of the Lake, where there is a large abundance of fish of divers species. Among the rest there is one called by the Indians of the country *Chaousarou*, of divers lengths. The largest I was informed by the people, are of eight to ten feet. I saw one of 5, as thick as a thigh, with a head as big as two fists, with jaws two feet and a half long, and a double set of very sharp and dangerous teeth. The form of the body resembles that of the pike, and it is armed with scales that a thrust of a poniard cannot pierce; and is of a silver grey colour. The point of the snout is like that of a hog. This fish makes war on all others in the lakes and rivers* and possesses, as those people

* Segard mentions in *Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, Paris 1632, having seen one of these fish in the Huron Country and describes it in the same terms as Champlain. Compare the above description with that of the Gar-fish and *Bony-pike*, in Nat. Hist. of N: York: Part III. Reptiles and Amphibia: pp. 227 and 271, and corresponding Plates. Prof: Agassiz mentions a similar fish in a recent work on the Natural History of the Upper Lakes.

assure me, a wonderful instinct ; which is, that when it wants to catch any birds, it goes among the rushes or reeds, bordering the lake in many places, keeping the beak out of the water without budging, so that when the birds perch on the beak, imagining it a limb of a tree, it is so subtle that closing the jaws which it keeps half open, it draws the birds under water by the feet. The Indians gave me a head of it, which they prize highly, saying, when they have a headache they let blood with the teeth of this fish at the seat of the pain which immediately goes away.

Continuing our route along the west side of the Lake, contemplating the country, I saw on the east side very high mountains capped with Snow. I asked the Indians if those parts were inhabited? They answered me, Yes, and that they were Iroquois, and that there were in those parts beautiful vallies, and fields fertile in corn as good as I had ever eaten in the country, with an infinitude of other fruits, and that the Lake extended close to the mountains, which were, according to my judgment, 15 leagues from us. I saw others, to the South, not less high than the former ; only, that they were without snow. The Indians told me it was there we were to go to meet their enemies, and that they were thickly inhabited, and that we must pass by a waterfall * which I afterwards saw, and thence enter another lake † three or

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*Ticonderoga. † Lake George.

four leagues long, and having arrived at its head, there were 4 leagues overland to be travelled to pass to a river* which flows towards the coast of the Almouchiquois, tending towards that of the Almouchiquois,† and that they were only two days going there in their canoes, as I understood since from some prisoners we took, who, by means of some Algonquin interpreters, who were acquainted with the Iroquois language, conversed freely with me about all they had noticed.

Now, on coming within about two or three days journey of the enemy's quarters, we travelled only by night and rested by day. Nevertheless, they never omitted their usual superstitions to ascertain whether their enterprise would be successful, and often asked me whether I had dreamed and seen their enemies. I answered, no; and encouraged them and gave them good hopes. Night fell, and we continued our journey until morning, when we withdrew into the picket fort to pass the remainder of the day there. About ten or eleven o'clock I lay down after having walked some time around our quarters, and falling asleep, I thought I beheld our enemies, the Iroquois, drowning

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* Hudson's River.

† The Indians west of Kennebec River, beginning at Chouacoet, (Saco) and thence Westwardly as far as Cape Cod were called Almouchiquois. GALLATIN'S Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, in Trans: of the Am: Antiq: Soc: ii. 31.

within sight of us in the Lake near a mountain ; and being desirous to save them, that our Savage allies told me that I must let them all perish as they were good for nothing. On awaking, they did not omit, as usual, to ask me, if I had any dream? I did tell them, in fact, what I had dreamed. It gained such credit among them that they no longer doubted but they should meet with success.

At nightfall we embarked in our Canoes to continue our journey, and as we advanced very softly and noiselessly, we encountered a war party of Iroquois, on the twenty-ninth of the month, about ten o'clock at night, at the point of a Cape which juts into the Lake on the West side. They and we began to shout, each seizing his arms. We withdrew towards the water and the Iroquois repaired on shore, and arranged all their canoes, the one beside the other, and began to hew down trees with villainous axes, which they sometimes got in war, and others of stone, and fortified themselves very securely.

Our party, likewise, kept their canoes arranged the one alongside the other, tied to poles so as not to run adrift, in order to fight all together should need be. We were on the water about an arrow-shot from their barricades.

When they were armed and in order, they sent two canoes from the fleet to know if their enemies wished to fight, who answered they desired nothing else ; but that just then, there was not much light, and that

we must wait for day to distinguish each other, and that they would give us battle at sun rise. This was agreed to by our party. Meanwhile the whole night was spent in dancing and singing, as well on one side as on the other, mingled with an infinitude of insults and other taunts, such as the little courage they had; how powerless their resistance against their arms, and that when day would break they should experience this to their ruin. Ours, likewise, did not fail in repartee; telling them they should witness the effects of arms they had never seen before; and a multitude of other speeches, as is usual at a siege of a town. After the one and the other had sung, danced and parliamented enough, day broke. My companions and I were always concealed, for fear the enemy should see us preparing our arms the best we could, being however separated, each in one of the canoes belonging to the savage *Montagnars*.* After being equipped with

* At the first settlement of Canada, all the St. Lawrence Indians living below and some distance above Quebec were designated by the name of Montagnars or Montagnés. This appellation was derived from a range of hills or mountains which, extending North-westerly from Cape Tourmente (five miles below Quebec) divides the rivers that fall above that Cape into the St. Lawrence, the Ottowa, and Lake Superior, from those, first of the Saguenay, and afterwards of the Hudson's bay . . . . . The great trading place of the Montagnars was Tadoussac, at the mouth of the river Saguenay. . . . The name (Montagnar's)

light armour we took each an arquebus and went ashore. I saw the enemy leave the barricade; they were about 200 men, of strong and robust appearance, who were coming slowly towards us, with a gravity and assurance which greatly pleased me, led on by three Chiefs. Our's were marching in similar order, and told me that those who bore three lofty plumes were the Chiefs, and that there were but these three and they were to be recognized by those plumes, which were considerably larger than those of their companions, and that I must do all I could to kill them. I promised to do what I could, and that I was very sorry they could not clearly understand me, so as to give them the order and plan of attacking their enemies, as we should indubitably defeat them all; but there was no help for that; that I was very glad to encourage them and to manifest to them my good will when we should be engaged.

The moment we landed they began to run about two hundred paces towards their enemies who stood firm, and had not yet perceived my companions, who went into the bush with some savages. Our's commenced calling me in a loud voice, and making way for me opened in two, and placed me at their head, marching about 20 paces in advance, until I was

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from the identity of language, was soon after extended to all the St. Lawrence Indians, as high up as Montreal. GALLATIN, in Trans. of the Am: Antiq. Soc. ii., 74.

within 30 paces of the enemy. The moment they saw me, they halted gazing at me and I at them. When I saw them preparing to shoot at us, I raised my arquebus, and aiming directly at one of the three Chiefs, two of them fell to the ground by this shot and one of their companions received a wound of which he died afterwards. I had put 4 balls in my arquebus. Our's, on witnessing a shot so favorable for them, set up such tremendous shouts that thunder could not have been heard; and yet, there was no lack of arrows on one side and the other. The Iroquois were greatly astonished seeing two men killed so instantaneously, notwithstanding they were provided with arrow-proof armour woven of cotton-thread and wood; this frightened them very much. Whilst I was re-loading, one of my companions in the bush fired a shot, which so astonished them anew, seeing their Chiefs slain, that they lost courage, took to flight and abandoned the field and their fort, hiding themselves in the depths of the forest, whither pursuing them, I killed some others. Our savages also killed several of them and took ten or twelve prisoners. The rest carried off the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen of ours were wounded by arrows; they were promptly cured.

After having gained the victory, they amused themselves plundering Indian corn and meal from the enemy; also their arms which they had thrown away in order to run the better. And having feasted,

danced and sung, we returned three hours afterwards with the prisoners.

The place where this battle was fought is in 43 degrees some minutes latitude, and I named it Lake Champlain.*

Champlain's Expedition
INTO WESTERN NEW YORK; ANNO 1615.

(Six years after the occurrences above noted, Champlain proceeded to the Upper Waters of the Ottawa River; thence crossed over to Lake Nipissing, and having discovered the Huron Lake, which he called La Mer douce, or the Fresh Water Sea, he joined some Hurons in an expedition against one of the Five Nations, south of Lake Ontario, the particulars of which are as follow:)

Arrival at Cahiague; Description of the Beauty of the Country; Nature of the Indians who dwell there, and the Inconveniences We experienced.

On the seventeenth day of August I arrived at Cahiague,† where I was received with great joy and

* The reference in Champlain's map places this engagement between Lake George and Crown Point; probably in what is now the town of Ticonderoga, Essex Co.

† Stated to be in 44½ deg. north; probably between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian bay of Lake Huron, in Western Canada. It was at the time the Huron Country.

gratitude by all the Indians of the Country. They had intelligence that a certain Nation of their allies with whom the Iroquois were at war, and who resided three good days journey higher up (*plus haut*) than the Entouhonorons, wished to assist this expedition with five hundred good men, and enter into alliance and amity with us, having a great desire to see us, and that we should wage war all together; and they testified their satisfaction at being acquainted with us; and I, in like manner, for having obtained this opportunity to satisfy the desire I had of learning something about that country. That Nation is very warlike according to the representation of the Attigouotans.* They are only three villages in the midst of more than twenty others against which they wage war, not being able to receive assistance from their friends, especially as they must pass through the country of the Chouontouaroüon, which is very populous, or else go a great way around.

Having arrived at this village, it suited me to sojourn there whilst waiting until the Warriors should come in from the circumjacent villages, then to leave it as soon as possible. During this interval, it was a continual series of feasting and dancing, through joy

* One of the five confederated tribes of the Wyandot, or Huron Nation; it was composed of twelve villages, and gave its name to Lake Huron, which was called, at the time of its discovery by Champlain, Lake Attigouatan.

for seeing us so determined to assist them in their war, and as a guarantee already of victory.

On the assembling of the major part of our forces, we set out from the village on the first day of September, and passed along the border of a very small lake, distant three leagues from the village where they take great quantities of fish which they preserve for winter. There is another Lake adjoining, 26 leagues in circumference, descending into the smaller by a channel where a great catch of said fish is taken by means of a number of stakes, which almost close the passage, leaving only small openings over which they place their nets to catch the fish. These two lakes disembogue into the Fresh Sea [Lake Huron]. We sojourned a while at this place to wait for the rest of our Indians, where being all assembled with their arms, meal, and necessaries, consultation was had for the selection of the most resolute men of the troop, to carry advice of our departure to those who were to assist and join us with five hundred men, in order that we may meet at the same time, before the enemy's fort. This deliberation adopted, they despatched two canoes, with twelve of the most robust Indians, and one of our interpreters, who requested of me to make the voyage. This I willingly permitted him as he was so disposed, and would see the country by that means and acquire a knowledge of the people who inhabit it. The danger was not trifling, inasmuch as they had to pass through the

midst of enemies. We continued our route towards the enemy, and made about five or six leagues through the Lakes, whence the savages carried the canoes about ten leagues over land and came to another Lake extending about six or seven leagues in length, and three in width. A river issues from this which discharges into the Great Lake of the Entouhonorons.* And having traversed this Lake, we passed a water fall, proceeding always down along the course of said river, about sixty four leagues, which is the entrance of the said valley of the Entouhonorons, and passed by land five rapids (*sauts*), some four or five leagues long, where there are several lakes of pretty considerable extent; the said river which flows between them also abounds with good fish, and all this country is very fine and agreeable. In several places along the banks, the trees would seem to have been planted for ornament. All this country was formerly inhabited by Savages, who have since been constrained to abandon it, through fear of their enemies. Vines and nuts are in great quantities, and grapes come to maturity there, but they leave always a sharp sour taste, which proceeds from want of cultivation; but those that have been cultivated in these parts are of pretty good flavour. * * * *

*Lake Ontario, presumed to have been so called by the Hurons from the fact of their having to cross it to get to the Autouoronons, or Senecas, who lived on the South side of it.

We continued along the border of the Lake of the Entouhonorons, always hunting as above mentioned; being there, we crossed over at one of the extremities, tending Eastward, which is the beginning (*l'entrée*) of the river Saint Lawrence, in the parallel of forty-three degrees of Latitude. There are some beautiful and very large Islands in this passage. We made about fourteen leagues to cross to the other side of the Lake, proceeding southward, toward the enemy's country. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods, near the bank. We travelled by land about 4 leagues over a sandy plain, where I observed a very pleasing and fine country, watered by numerous small streams, and two little rivers which empty into said Lake, and a number of ponds and prairies, where there was an infinite quantity of game, a great many vines and fine trees, vast number of chesnuts, the fruit of which was yet in the shell. It is quite small, but well flavored.

All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the bank of the Lake, which is 80 leagues long and 25 wide. It is inhabited for the greater part by Savages, along the sides of the streams, and we continued our journey overland some 25 to 30 leagues. In the course of four days, we traversed a number of streams and one river issuing from a lake which empties into that of the Entouhonorons. This lake is 25 to 30 leagues in circumference, with many beautiful Islands, and is the Iroquois fishing ground, fish being in abundance there.

The 9th of October, our Indians going out scouting, encountered eleven Savages whom they took prisoners; to wit, 4 women, three boys, one girl and three men, who were going fishing, four leagues distant from the enemy's fort. Now is to be noted that one of the Chiefs seeing these prisoners, cut the finger off one of these poor women, as the commencement of their usual tortures. Whereupon I interfered, and censured the Iroquet Captain, representing to him that a Warrior, as he called himself, was not in the habit of acting cruelly towards women, who have no defence but their tears and who, by reason of their helplessness and feebleness, ought to be treated with humanity. That on the contrary this act would be supposed to proceed from a vile and brutal courge, and that if he committed any more of those cruelties, he would not encourage me to assist them, nor to favor their war. Whereupon he replied, that their enemies treated them in the same manner. But since such customs displeased me, he would not act so any more to women, but exclusively to men.

Next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the enemy's fort, where the Savages had some skirmishes, the one against the other, though it was not our design to discover ourselves until the morrow: But the impatience of our Savages would not brook this, as well through the desire they felt to see us fire on their enemies, as to liberate some of their men who had ventured too far. Then I

advanced and presented myself, but with the few men I had ; nevertheless I shewed them what they never saw nor heard before. For as soon as they saw us, and heard the reports of the Arquebus, and the balls whistling about their ears, they retired promptly within their Fort, carrying off their wounded and dead ; and we retreated in like manner to our main body, with five or six of our wounded, one of whom died.

This being done, we retired within gun shot, beyond the view of the enemy, contrary, however, to my advice, and to what they had promised me. Which moved me to make use of and express to them pretty rude and angry words, in order to incite them to their duty, foreseeing that, if every thing went according to their fantasy, and council, nothing but misfortune would result, to their ruin and destruction. Nevertheless, I failed not to send to them and to propose means necessary to be used to overcome their enemies ; which was, to construct a moveable tower (*cavalier*) of timber to overlook their pickets, whereupon I should post four or five of our Arquebusseers, who would fire over the palisades and galleries, which were well supplied with stones, and by this means, the enemy who annoyed us from their galleries would be dislodged ; and in the mean time we should give orders for some boards to form a species of parapet to cover and protect our men from the arrows and stones. These things, namely, the tower and parapets, could be moved by main force, and one was made in

such a way that water could not extinguish the fire to be applied to the front of the fort; and those on the tower would do their duty with some Arquebusseers posted there, and thus acting, we should so defend ourselves that they could not approach to extinguish the fire, that we should apply to their pickets. Approving this, they began next morning to construct and prepare said tower and parapets; and made such progress that these were finished in less than four hours. They were expecting the arrival this day of the five hundred men that had been promised, which was however doubtful; not being at the rendez-vous, as directed and as they had promised, our Savages were much afflicted. But seeing that they were numerous enough to capture the forts, and for my part, considering delay to be always prejudicial, at least in most cases, I urged them to attack said fort, representing that the enemy discovering their strength and the effect of our arms, which pierced what was arrow proof, would barricade and strengthen themselves, which, indeed, they did very well. For their village was enclosed with strong quadruple palisades of large timber, thirty feet high, interlocked the one with the other, with an interval of not more than half a foot between them; with galleries in the form of parapets, defended with double pieces of timber, proof against our Arquebuses, and on one side they had a pond with a never failing supply of water, from which proceeded a number of gutters

good. The disorder that [illegible] was in consequence so great, that it was impossible to heal. In vain I tried to them and remonstrated as well as I was able against the imminent danger to which they exposed themselves by their stupidity. They heard nothing in consequence of the violent noise they made. Seeing that my stupidity I was only exhausting my skill, and that my remonstrances were in vain and that this disorder was irremediable, I resolved to do what was in my power with my men, and fire on those we could discover or perceive. Yet the enemy profited by our disorder. They went to the water and discharged it in such abundance that [illegible] it may be said, spouted from their gutters, so that the fire was extinguished in less than no time, and they continued to pour arrows on us like hail. Those on the tower killed and wounded a great many.

This engagement lasted about three hours. Two of our chiefs and leaders were wounded; to wit, one called [illegible], the other [illegible], and about fifteen individuals besides. The rest seeing their folks, and some of their chiefs wounded, began to talk of retreating, without fighting any more, expecting the five hundred men whose arrival was not far off; and so they withdrew, having accomplished nothing save this disorderly shutter. However, the chiefs have no absolute control of their companions who follow their whim, and act their pleasure, which is the cause of their disorder and ruins all their affairs. Having

which they had laid a'ong the intermediate space, throwing the water without, and rendered it effectual inside, for the purpose of extinguishing fire.

Such was their mode of fortification and defence, which was much stronger than the villages of the Attigouantans [Hurons] and others.

We advanced, then, to attack the village, causing our tower to be carried by two hundred of our strongest men. They placed it within a pike's length in front, and I posted on it four Arquebusseers, well sheltered from any arrows and stones that might have been shot at them. Nevertheless, the enemy did not, for all that, cease discharging and throwing a great number of arrows and stones over their pickets. But the multitude of Arquebus shots that were fired, constrained them to vacate and abandon their galleries. But according as the tower was moved, instead of bringing the parapets as ordered and that on which we were to have p'aced the fire, they abandoned them and commenced to yell against their enemies, shooting arrows within the fort, which, in my opinion, did not do much execution. They are very excusable, for they are not soldiers, and are moreover averse to discipline or correction, and do only what they like. Wherefore, one inconsiderately applied the fire to the wrong side of the fort, or to leeward, so that it produced no effect. On the fire being kindled, the most of the savages began to set wood against the pickets but in such small quantities, that the fire did not much

good. The disorder that supervened was in consequence so great, that it was impossible to hear. In vain I cried to them and remonstrated as well as I was able against the imminent danger to which they exposed themselves by their stupidity. They heard nothing in consequence of the violent noise they made. Seeing that by shouting I was only splitting my skull, and that my remonstrances were in vain and that this disorder was irremediable, I resolved to do what was in my power with my men, and fire on those we could discover or perceive. Yet, the enemy profited by our disorder. They went to the water and discharged it in such abundance, that rivers, it may be said, spouted from their gutters, so that the fire was extinguished in less than no time, and they continued to pour arrows on us like hail. Those on the tower killed and wounded a great many.

This engagement lasted about three hours. Two of our chiefs and leaders were wounded; to wit, one called Ochateguain; the other Orani, and about fifteen individuals besides. The rest seeing their folks, and some of their chiefs wounded, began to talk of retreating, without fighting any more, expecting the five hundred men whose arrival was not far off; and so they withdrew, having accomplished nothing save this disorderly splutter. However, the chiefs have no absolute control of their companions who follow their whim, and act their pleasure, which is the cause of their disorder and ruins all their affairs. Having

taken a resolution, any poor devil can make them violate it and change their plan. Thus, the one with the other, they effect nothing as may be seen by this expedition.*

Having received two wounds from arrows, one in the leg and the other in the knee, which sorely incommoded me, we withdrew into our fort. Being all assembled there, I remonstrated with them several times on account of the disorder that had occurred. But all my talk was in vain; they said many of their men had been wounded and I also, and that it would be very inconvenient and fatiguing to carry them, on the retreat; that there was no means of returning again to the enemy as I had proposed to them; but that they would willingly wait four days more for the five hundred men that were expected, on whose arrival they would renew the effort against the enemy, and execute what I had told them, better than they had already done. It was necessary to stop there, to my regret.

Next day blew a very strong and violent wind which lasted two days, particularly favorable for setting the enemy's fort in a blaze, which I strongly urged on them. But fearing a failure, and moreover representing themselves as wounded, they would not do any thing.

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* It seems to have been fought in the neighbourhood of lake Canandaigua.

We remained encamped until the 16th of the month. Several skirmishes occurred during that time between the enemy and our people, who became oftenest engaged with them rather by their imprudence than through want of courage; and I can assure you, that every time they made a charge, we were obliged to extricate them from the difficulty, not being able to extricate themselves except by the help of our arquebuses, which the enemy dreaded and greatly feared. For as soon as they perceived one of our Arquebuseers, they immediately retreated, telling us by way of persuasion not to meddle with their fights, and that their enemies had very little courage to require our assistance; with many other such like discourses.

Seeing that the five hundred men were not coming, they proposed to depart and retreat at once, and began to make certain litters to convey their wounded, who are put in them, tumbled in a heap, doubled and strapped in such a way that it is impossible to stir; less than an infant in its swaddling clothes; not without considerable pain, as I can certify, having been carried several days on the back of one of our Indians, thus tied and bound, so that I lost all patience. As soon as I had strength to bear my weight, I got out of this prison, or to speak plainer, out of hell.

The enemy pursued us about the distance of half a

league, endeavouring to catch some of the rear guard. But their labor was in vain, and they retired.

All I remarked in their wars, is, that they retreat in good order; placing all their wounded and old people in their centre, they being in front, on the wings, and in the rear, well armed and arranged in such wise according to order, until they are in a place of safety, without breaking their line. Their retreat was very tedious, being from 25 to 30 leagues, which greatly fatigued the wounded and those who carried them, though they relieved each other from time to time.

On the 18th of said month some snow fell, which melted rapidly. It was accompanied by a strong wind that greatly annoyed us. Nevertheless we contrived to get to the borders of the lake of the Entouhonorons and at the place where we had concealed our canoes, which we found safe; for we feared lest the enemy might have broken them.

A Letter from a

GENTLEMAN

of the

City of NEW YORK

To ANOTHER.

Concerning the troubles which hapened in that Province in the time of the late Happy REVOLUTION.

Printed and Sold by *William Braaford*, at the Sign of the *Bible*, in *New York*.
1698.

A Letter from a Gentleman of the City of New York,

Concerning the late happy Revolution.

Sir,—I cannot but admire to hear that some Gentlemen still have a good Opinion of the Late Disorders committed by Captain Jacob Leisler and his Accomplices, in New York, as if they had been for his Majesties Service and the Security of that Province; and that such monstrous falsehoods do find Credit, That the person before in Commission, and did labour to oppose and prevent those disorders were Jacobites, or persons ill affected to the happy revolution in England, But it has been often the Calamity of all Ages [to] Palliate Vice with false Glosses, and to criminate the best Actions of the most virtuous and pious men—So that the truth and Innocency, without some defence, has not proved at all times a Sufficient Bullwark against malitious falsehoods and Calumnies, wherefore I shall endeavor

to give you a true and brief Account of that matter, As I myself have been a personal Witness to most of them—

It was about the Beginning of April 1689. when the first Reports arrived at New York, that the Prince of Orange, now his present majesty was arrived in England, with a considerable Force and that the late King James was fled into France and that it was expected war would be soon proclaimed between England and France—

The Lieut Govenor, Francis Nicholson and the Council being Protestants, resolved thereupon to Suspend all Roman Catholicks from Command and Places of Trust in the government and accordingly suspended Major Baxter from being a member of Council and Captain of a Company at Albany and Bartholomew Russell from being Ensign in the fort at New York, they both being Papists, who forthwith left their command and departed the province—and because but three members of the Council were residing in New York viz, Mr Frederick Phillips Colonel Stephanus Cortlandt and Coll Nicholas Bayard all of Dutch birth, all Members, and the two last for near thirty years past, Elders and Deacons of the Dutch Protestant Church in New York and Most Affectionate to the Royall House of Orange—It was resolved by the said Lieut Governor and Council, to call and Conveen to their Assistance all the Justices of the peace, and other Civil Magistrates and the

Commission Officers in the Province for to consult and advise with them what might be proper for the preservation of the peace and the safety of the Said Province [at] that Conjuncture till orders should arrive from England.

Whereupon the Said Justices Magistrates, and officers were Accordingly convened, and Stiled by the name of the General Convention for the Province of New York; and all matters of Government were carried on and managed by the Major vote of that CONVENTION.

And in the first Place it was by them Agreed. and ordered forthwith to fortify the City of New York—

And that for the better security of the fort (since the garrison was weak and to prevent all manner of Doubt and Jealousies) a competant number of the City Militia, should keep guard in that fort. and Nicholas Bayard Coll. of Said Militia recommended to give Suitable Orders Accordingly—And that the Revenue shôuld be continued and received by some Gentleman Appointed by that Conveation for repairing the fort and Fortifying of the City. but against this order Capt Leisler, who as a Captain was a member of that CONVENTION, did enter his dissent with some few others—

It was also recommended to said Colonel Bayard to hasten to fortify the City was all Possible Speed, who upon the credit of the revenue did Advance what money was needful for materials, and by the assistance

of the Militia Officers, and dayly Labour of the Inhabitants, had the same finished before the End of May, Excepting Captain Leisler's Quota.

About the Middle of May the Ship Beaver John Corbett Master, being ready to Sail for England, the Lieut Governor and Council sent in her Mr John Riggsf and in Several other Ships, that soon followed, letters to the Earl now Duke of Shrewsbury then principal Secretary of State and to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, wherein they Signified their rejoicing at the News of his Royal Highness The Prince of Orange, now his present Majest:es arrival in England, in order to redress the grievances of the Nation, and giving a particular account of the State of Affairs of this Province, and that they would endeavour to preserve its peace and Security till orders, Should arrive from England, which they humbly prayed might be hastened with all possible Speed Which Said Letters were most graciously received and answered by his Majesty's Letter bearing date 30th July 1689—

But against expectation it soon happened, that on the Last day of Said Month of May, Captain Leisler having a Vessell with some Wines on the road, for which he refused to pay the Duty, did in a Seditious Manner Stir up the meanest Sort of the Inhabitants (affirming that King James being fled the Kingdom all manner of Government was fallen in this Province) to Rise in Arms, and forceably possesses Themselves

of the fort and Stores which Accordingly was effected whilst the Lieut Governor and Council with the Convention were met at the City Hall to Consult what Might be proper for the Common Good and Safety, where a Party of Armed men, came from the fort and forced the Lieut Governor to deliver them the Keys and Seized also in his Chamber a Chest, with Seven hundred and Seventy three pounds twelve Shillings in money of the Government, and though Coll Bayard, with some others appointed by the convention used all endeavours to prevent Those disorders, all proved vain (for most of Those that appeared in arms were drunk and Cry'd out, They disowned all manner of Government,) whereupon by Captain Leisler's persuasion, they proclaimed him to be their Commander there being then, no other Commission officer amongst Them.

Captain Leisler being in this manner possest of the fort, took some persons to his assistance, which he called the Committee of Safety, and the Lieut. Governor, Francis Nicholson being in this manner forced out of the Province

About a week after reports came from Boston, that their Royal Highness the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England, Whereupon the Council and convention were very desirous to get that Proclamation, and not only wrote for it, but some of them hearing, that two gentlemen were comming from Connecticut with a Copy of

said proclamation, went out two days, to meet them in Expectation of having the Happiness to proclaim it, But Major Gold and Mr Fitz Missing them, having put the proclamation into Captain· Leisler's hands, he, without taking any notice of the Council or convention did proclaim the same, though very disorderly after which he went, with his accomplices into the fort, and the Gentlemen of the Council Magistrates and most of the principal inhabitants, and Merchants went to Col Bayard's House and drank the health and Prosperity of King Wm and Queen Mary—with great expressions of Joy.

Two Days after a Printed Proclamation was procured by some of the Council dated the 14 Feby 1688, whereby their Majesties confirmed all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace Collectors, and receivers of the revenue &c—being protestants which was forthwith Published at the City Hall by the Mayor and Alderman, accompanied with the Council and most of the Chief Citizens and merchants—and Pursuant there unto Matt Plowman Being a Papist was forthwith Suspended by the Convention and Colonel Bayard Alderman Paul Richards Captain, Thomas Winham Lieut John Haynes merchants, were by them commissioned and appointed to Collect the Revenue until orders Should arrive from England, whereupon those gent'emen were Sworn by Coll Cortlandt, then Mayor of the City they being the first in this province that took the oaths to their Majesties Appointed, by act

of Parliament, instead of their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.—

But as soon as Those gentlemen Entered upon the Office Captain Leisler with a Party of Men in Arms, and Drink fell upon them at the Custom House, and with naked Swords beat them thence, endeavoring to Massacre some of them, which were rescu'd, by Providence, whereupon Said Leisler, beat an Alarm crying about the City Treason and made a Strict search to Seize Coll Bayard who made his Escape and departed for Albany where he Staid all summer in hopes that Orders might come from England to settle Those Disorders—

The said Captain Leisler finding almost every Man of Sence, Reputation or Estate in the place to oppose and discourage his irregularities, caused frequent false Alarms to be Made, and Sent Several Parties of his armed Men out of the Fort, Drag'd into Nasty goals, within said Fort, Several of the Principal Magistrates officers, and Gentlemen and others, that would not own his Power to be Lawfull, which he Kept in close Prison during will and Pleasure, without any Process or allowing them to Bail, and he further Published Several times, by beat of Drums

That all those who would not come into the Fort and Sign Their hands, and So thereby to own his Power to be Lawfull Should be deemed and Esteemed as enemies to his Majesties and the Country, and be by him treated Accordingly, By which Means many

of the Inhabitants, tho' they abhorrd his Actions only to Escape a Nasty Joal, and to Secure their Estates, were by fear and Compulsion drove to Comply, Submit and Sign to whatever he commanded—

And Tho Captain Leisler had at first so violently opposed the Collecting of the Revenue, Alleging it unlawful, as soon as his Wines were landed, and that he got in some Power, he forthwith set up for himself the collecting of the said Revenue by Peter D Lanoy allowing him a great sallary and all the perquisities of of that office—

Upon the 10 of December following Returned the said Mr John Riggs from England with Letters from his Majesty, and the Lords in answer to the letters sent by the Lieut Govenor and Council above recited, Directed to our Trusty and well beloved Francis Nicholson Esq our Lieut govenor and commander in chief of our Province of New York, in America and in his absence to such as for the time being. take care for the preservation of the peace, ane administring the Laws in our said Province whereby his Majesty Approved of the proceedings, and care that had been taken by said Lieut Govenor, and Council for the peace and Safety of the Province, with Further Powers and directions to continue therein till further orders, which Said letters the said Mr Riggs designed to deliver on the following morning to the gentlemen of the Council to whom they properly did belong being an answer to their Said letter, but was Obstructed

therein by Said Leisler, who sent a party of his men in Arms and brought said Riggs, to the fort where he forced said Letters from him though some gentlemen of the Council that went the same time to the Fort. Protested against it, but he drove them out of the Fort, calling them Rogues, Papist, and other approbious names

Soon after the receipt of said letters, said Captain Leisler Stiled himself Lieut Govenor Appointed A Council—and presumeth to Call a Select number of his own Party, who called themselves the General Assembly of the Province and by their advice and assistance raised Several Taxes, and great sums of money from their Majesties good subjects within this province which Taxes together with that £773. 12s in money which he had Seized from the government, and the whole revenue he apply'd to his own use, and to maintain said Disorders allowing his private men 18d per Day, and to others proportionally.

On the 20th of January following Coll Bayard and Mr Nicholls had the Ill fortune to fall into his hands, and were in a Barbarous manner By a party in Arms, Dragg'd into the fort, and there Put into a Nasty place, without any manner of process or being allowed to Bail, though the same was offered for Said Coll Bayard by some of the Ablest and Richest Inhabitants to the sum of Twenty thousand Pounds, either for his Appearance to Answer, or depart the province, or to go for England, but without any cause given, or

reason assigned, Laid Said Coll Bayard in Irons and kept him and Mr Nicolls close prisoners for the space of 14 months, were they with Severall others, that had been long detained Prisoners were set at Liberty by Govenor Sloughter.

And whilst he kept those gentlemen in Prison, he quartered his Armed men in their houses, were they committed all manner of Outrages, and to give one instance of many others a Party of twelve men were quartered at the house of Colo Bayard with directions to Pillage and Plunder at discretion, which was bought off with money and Plentifull entertainment, But the same day when the party had received their money, another Party came in with naked Swords, Opened several Chambers and Chests in said house, and did rob and carry away what money and other goods they found, at the same time Coll Bayard and Mr Nicolls were taken, Strict Search was made for Colonel Cortlandt but he with severall Other Gentlemen having made their Escape, were forced to leave their families and concerns, and remain in exile till relieved by the arrivall of Colonel Slaughter

It is hardly to be exprest what cruelties Captain Leisler and his accomplices, imposed upon the said prisoners and all others that would not own his power to be Lawful, neither could the Protestant Ministers in the province Escape their Malice and cruelty's; for Mr Selyns Minister of New York, was most grossly abused by Leisler himself in the Church

at the time of Divine Service, and threatened to be silenced &c—Mr Dellius Minister at Albany to Escape a Nasty Joal was forced to leave his flock and fly for Shelter into New England Mr Varick Minister of the Dutch Towns on Nassaw Island, was by Armed Men drag'd out of his house to the fort then imprisoned without Bail, for Speaking (as was pretended) treasonable words Against Captain Leisler and the fort, then prosecuted and decreed by Peter D Lanoy pretended Judge without any commission or Authority—to be deprived from his Ministerial Function Amerced in a fine of £80—and to remain in close prison till that fine should be paid. Yea he was so tormented, that in all likelyhood it Occasioned and hastened the death of that Most reverend and religious Man.

The French Minister Mr Perret and Mr Dellie had some better Quarters, but were often threatened, to be prosecuted in like manner because they would not approve of his power and disorderly proceedings—

None in the province but these of faction, had any Safety in their Estates for Said Captain Leisler at will and Pleasure Sent to those who disapproved of his actions to furnish him with Money, Provision and what Else he wanted and upon Denial, Sent Armed Men out of the fort and forcially broke open Several Houses Shops, Cellars, Vessels and other places where they expected to be Supply'd and without any the least Payment, or Satisfaction carried their plunder to

the fort, all which was extremely approved of by these poor fellows which he had About him, and was forced to feed and Maintain and he Stiled those his robberies, with the giled name and Pretence, that it was for their Majesties King William and Queen Mary Special Service, though it was After found out, that whole Cargoes of those Stolen goods so'd to his friend's in this city, and Shipt off for the West Indias and Elsewhere

In this Manner he the said Leisler with his Accomplices, did force pillage, rob and Steal from their Majesties good Subjects within this province, almost to their utter ruin vast Sums of money, and other Effects, the Estimation of the Damages done only within the City of New York Amounting as by Account May appear to The sum of Thirteen Thousand Nine Hundred and fifty Nine Pounds besides the Rapins, Spoils and Violences done at Col Willets on Nassaw Island, and to many others in several Parts of the province, and thus You may see how he used and Exercised an Exorbitant Arbitrary, and unlawfull power, over the persons and Estates of his Majesties good Subjects here, Against the Known and fundamental laws of the Land, and in Subvertion of the same to the great Oppression of his Majesties Subjects, and to the apparent decay of Trade and Commerce —

In this Calamity, Misery and Confution was this province by those disorders entrawled, near the Space of two Years until the Arrival of his Majesties Forces

under the Command of Major Ingoldesby who with Several Gentlemen of the Council arrived about the last day of January 1690-1 which said Geutlemen of the Council for the preservation of the peace, sent and offered to said Leisler that he might Stay, and continue his command in the fort, only desiring for themselves and the Kings forces quietly to quarter and refresh themselves in the City till Govenor Sloughter should arrive, but the said Leisler instead of complying, asked Mr Brooke one of his Majesties Counell, who were appointed of the Council in this Province and Mr Brooke having named Mr Phillips, Colo Cortlandt and Col Bayard, he fell into a passion and Cry'd What ! those Papist Dogs Rogues, Sacrament—if the King should send three thousand such I would cut them all off and without any cause given, he proclaimed open war against them. Whereupon they for Self preservation, protection of the Kings forces and Stores and the Safety of the City, were Necessitated to persuade to their assistance, Several of their Majesties good Subjects, then in Opposition against the said Leisler, with no other Intent as they Signified to him by Several Letters and Messages, but only for Self Security and defence : Yet notwithstanding the said Leisler proceeds to make war against them and the Kings forces, and fired a vast number of great and Small Shot in the City whereof Several of his Majesties Subjects were Killed and wounded as they passed in the Streets

upon their Lawful Occasions, though no Opposition were made on the other Side.

At this height of extremity was it when Govenor Slaughter arrived on the 19th of March 1691, who having published his commission from the City hall with great Signs of Joy. By firing all the Artillery within and round the City sent thrice to demand the surrender of the fort from Captain Leisler and his Accomplices, which was thrice Denied, but upon great Threatnings the following day surrendered to Govenor Sloughter who forthwith caused the said Capt Leisler with some of the Chief Malefactors to be bound over to answer thereat, the next Supreme Court of Judicature, where the said Leisler and his pretended Secretary Milborne did appear, but refused to plead to the indictment of the grand Jury, or to own the Jurisdiction of that Court and So After Several hearings as Mutes, were found guilty of High Treason and Murder and executed Accordingly— Several of the other Malefactors that pleaded were also found Guilty and Particularly one Abraham Governeer for Murdering of an Old Man peaceably passing along the Street, but were repreived by Coll. Slaughter, and upon Coll Flitcher's Arrival by him Set at Liberty, upon their Submission and promise of Good behaviour—

Sir,

Al what is here Set down is true and can be proved and Justified by the men of greatest probity and best

figure amongst us, If I were to give a particular narrative of all the cruelties and Robberies perpetrated Upon their Majesties most affectionate Subjects in this province. they would fill a Volumn, there were no need of a revolution here, they were all well Known and the Strictest Protestants. and Men of best figure. Reputation and Estate were at the Helm, it may plainly be perceived by the Several Steps and Measures were followed at that time, and by their letters to the, then Earl now Duke Shrewsbury. and to the Lords and the Kings Answer thereunto, the Copy of which Answer, and Some other papers worthy of your Perusal are inclosed—

As soon as Govenour Sloughter arrived an Assembly was called which upon the 18 April 1691—did present an address to his Excellency, Signed by the Speaker, together with the resolves of that house which when you are pleased to read gives the conclusive Opinion and Judgment of the General Assembly of this Province of all those disorderly proceedings. for which those two have suffered Death and their sentence was since approved by their Majesty of Ever blessed Memory in Council

Many worthy Protestants in England, and other parts of the world, being Sincerely devoted to interest have yet notwithstanding (unacquainted circumstances and not duly apprised of them, have been more easily induced to give Credit to the false Calumnies of Byassed and

Disaffected persons in thie province. but in my Opinion most of those that have come hither so prepossessed— After sojourning here have been Thorowly convinced of the and that those men who Suffered death, did Zeal for their Majesties interest and the Protestant Religion, but being of Disperate fortune, trust themselves into power of Purpose to Make up their Wants by the ruin and Plunder of his Majesties Loyal Subjects, and were so far ingaged in their repeated Crimes, that they were driven to that height of Desperation, had not the providence of Almighty God prevented it, the whole Province had been ruined and destroyed—

I have put this in writing at your request, to Assist your memory and leave it to his Excellency Coll Fletcher and your own Observations, to enlarge upon the Characters of those Persons, who have been the greatest Sufferers, in the time of those Disorders, and of their Patience and Moderation, Since Your Arrival also of the disaffected, and the Causes which you have frequently observed to hold this province in Disquiet and Trouble, notwithstanding all which, and the frequent attacks of the French and Indians Upon our Frontiers, this province have not lost one foot of ground during the War, but have had considerable Advantage upon the Enemy, which under God is due to the Prudent and Steady conduct and great Care and diligence of Coll. Fletcher our Present Govenor— an eye Witness and have had time

through to enable You to inform others Which if
You please to do, I doubt not credit and be
an extraordinary piece of to this province I am
Your Most Humble
Servant.

New York, Decr 31. 1697.

*** A manuscript copy of this curious Tract is in the Collections of the New York Historical Society.

THE END

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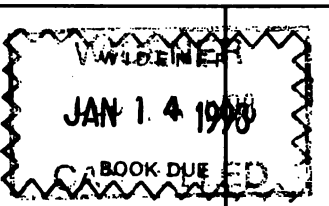
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